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[illegible] some experience our chronical traditions, there follows the readily accepted assumption that the world contains different kinds of knowledge and different truths.

Despite the fact that the Indian lacks the ability to formulate clear-cut or even chronological sequences (we have already referred to the difficulties experienced in securing chronological life histories), he may be credited with a historical sense. Examples of narrow history have been presented in reporting the traditional cities of Kaska origin and the memories of life in the aboriginal society. This material is distinguished by its scope, rather than dubious quality, no attempt being made to relate the events which are described. As pointed out in connection with acculturation, the Kaska are not oriented to the past. There is relatively little interest in harkening back to aboriginal times, certainly no sentimentalism. Only occasionally will a contemporary incident move some man to describe the event as similar to behavior which was commonplace in former days. Such historical attitudes promise, that in one or two more generations the ability to report "old fashioned" life will have entirely disappeared.

ETHICS

Ethically and morally, as well as philosophically, the Kaska are inclined to be relativists, particularly when non-Indian behavioral norms are discussed. Thus people asked the ethnographer if it was true that white people sometimes married their parallel cousins, whom the Kaska classify as siblings. An alternative pattern met with no criticism or repugnance. Moral relativism is noted chiefly in connection with marital and sexual behavior; aggression and lack of generosity are not so tolerantly regarded. In the latter fields, the Indians tend to recognize more absolute values. Thus the second World War appeared to confuse many informants, and local traders are often criticized for neglecting to meet the Indians' standard of generosity.

The Kaska express the same theoretical conflict between free will and determinism that is familiar to students of western society. As evidence of determinism we may cite the fact that a person is thought to be bad because he has "bad blood." This evil disposition is inherited, so that an evil man produces evil children. Opposing these ideas is the belief that an evil person can be taught to control his behavior. It is possible too for a good man to produce bad children, since it is often through error that good people commit evil—they "make mistake." Although this conflict between free will and determinism comes out in interviews, in everyday life there is little question of the moral accountability of the individual.

Abstract ethical ideals, like righteousness and justice, have little meaning for the Indian. When forced to concern himself with formulating ideal conceptions of human nature, he is primarily concerned with such concrete individual and social virtues as generosity, industriousness, pacificity, courage, skill, and (in women) marital chastity.

The ideal man is first of all generous. He gives good gifts and helps out a friend who is in need of food or of some capital goods like traps or cartridges. A good man is not pugnacious or "mean"; he is disinclined to unfriendly gossip and hypocrisy, nor does he seek to exert authority. He avoids talking unfavorably about his friends, is not cranky, and will not fight unless unduly provoked. Putting these traits more positively, virtue may be recognized in a pleasant disposition. A good man is ready to laugh and eager for fun. When he drinks he enjoys himself, but "he don't fight nothing." Finally, the ideal male reflects industry. He is,

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water. Beaver and Muskrat, and all the animals and birds, dived, but none of them reached the bottom. Many of them could under water longer than half a day. At last Otter (a bird) went down. After six days he came up quite exhausted and speechless. His friends examined his toe-nails, and found mud or earth under them. From this they formed on top of the water a new earth, which grew until it formed the present earth. At first it was merely mud and very soft. Later it became firm, and trees and vegetation began to grow on it. Now the earth is old and dry. Perhaps it is drying up.[1]

3. THE GREAT FLOOD.

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Once there came a great flood which covered the earth. Most of the people made rafts, and were swept in canoes. Great darkness came on, and high winds which drove the vessels hither and thither. The people became separated. Some were driven far away. When the flood subsided, people landed wherever they found the nearest land. When the earth became dry, they lived in the places near where they had landed. People were now widely scattered over the world. They did not know where other people lived, and probably thought themselves the only survivors. Long afterwards, when in their wanderings they met people from another place, they spoke different languages, and could not understand one another. This is why

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[1] The narrator stated that this was originally a long story. He had forgotten the cause ascribed for the Flood, its duration, and many details that he had heard. Compared Algonquin (Chamberlain, see Barbeau, GSCan 80 : 193), Arapaho (Dorsey and Kroeber, FM 5 : 1, 3, 4, 6, 10 note), Assiniboin (Lowie, PaAM 4 : 101; Potts, JAFL 3 : 55), Beaver (Goddard, PaAM 10 : 238), Blackfoot (Wissler, PaAM 2 : 151; John Maclean, Canadian Savage Folk, p. 51), Caddo (Mooney, TCI 5 : 101, Cherokee (Mooney, RBAE 19 : 239), Chippewayan (Petitot 378; Lowie, PaAM 12 : 195), Cree (Russell 108; Skinner, PaAM 9 : 87; JAFL 19 : 348; John Maclean, Canadian Savage Folk, p. 55; Petitot 470; Grinnell-Schoen, JAFL 18 : 139; Simms, JAFL 19 : 340), Delaware (Chamberlain, JAFL 4 : 210; Brinton, The Lenape and their Legends, p. 134). (?) Dog-Rib (Petitot 313; Sir John Franklin, Narrative of a Second Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea [London, 1828], p. 290), Fox (Jones, JAFL 14 : 234; 24 : 209; PAES 1 : 363), Gros Ventre (PaAM 1 : 60), Hare (Petitot 143), Hidatsa (Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, Reise in das Innere Nord-Amerika 2 : 201), Huron and Wyandot (Barbeau, AA 18 : 190; GSCan 80 : 39, 48, 50, [Beckwith] 253), Hale, JAFL 1 : 180; W. E. Connelley, Wyandot Folk-Lore [Topeka, 1899], p. 63), Iowa (cited by Boas, JAFL 4 : 131; Dorsey, JAFL 3 : 300), Kathlamet (Boas, RBAE 26 : 23), Loucheux (Cornell-Barbeau, JAFL 28 : 249), Maidu (Dixon, BAM 17 : 30), Menominee (Hoffman, RBAE 14 [pt. 1] : 1144; AA [old series] 1890 : 242-238; Skinner, PaAM 13 : 250), Miwok (Kroeber, UCal 4 : 188, 200), Mohawk (Hewitt, RBAE 21 : 286), Newettee (Boas, Sagen 173, CU 2 : 203), Ojibwa (Schoolcraft, Hiawatha 36; Skinner, PaAM 9 : 173; De Jong, BArchS 3 : 14; Carson, JAFL 30 : 486; Jones, PAES 7 [pt. 2] : 151, 271, 403; A. J. Blackbird, History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan [Ypsilanti, 1887], p. 76; Radin, GSCan 48 : 20; J. G. Kohl, Kitchi-Gami [Bremen, 1859], 1 : 306, 2 : 204); Chamberlain [Missisauga], JAFL 3 : 130; for other Ojibwa references see Chamberlain, JAFL 4 : 193; Speck [Timagami], GSCan 71 : 36), Onondaga (Hewitt, RBAE 21 : 180), Sarcee (Simms, JAFL 17 : 180; E. F. Wilson, BAAS 58 [1888] : 244), Salinan (Mason UCal 14 : 82, 103), Seneca (Converse, Bulletin

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there are now many different centres of population, many tribes, and 539
many languages. Before the flood, there was but one centre; for all 829
the people lived together in one country, and spoke one language.[1] 773

4. ORIGIN OF FIRE, AND ORIGIN OF DEATH.

Long ago the people had no fire. Of all the people, only Bear had 539
fire. He had a fire-stone, with which he could make fire at any time. 822
He jealously guarded this stone, and always kept it tied to his belt. 773
One day he was lying down by the fire in his lodge when a little bird came in and approached the fire. Bear said, "What do you want?" and the bird answered, "I am nearly frozen, and have come in to warm myself." Bear told it to come and pick his lice. The little bird assented, and began to hop all over Bear, picking his lice. While doing this, it also picked the string which fastened the fire-stone to Bear's belt. When the string was completely picked asunder, the bird suddenly snatched the stone and flew off with it.[8] Now the animals had already arranged for the stealing of the fire, and waited in line, one behind another.[9] Bear chased the bird, and caught up with it just as it reached the first animal of the line. As it threw the fire to him, he ran with it; and, as Bear in turn overtook him, he passed it on to the next; and so on. At last the fire was passed to Fox, who ran up a high mountain with it. Bear was so exhausted that he could not follow Fox, and turned back. Fox broke up the fire-stone on the top of the mountain, and threw the fragments a piece to each tribe. Thus the many tribes all over the earth obtained fire; *and this is why there is fire in the rocks and woods everywhere now.*

Fox then descended to a creek and threw a stick down into the water, 539
saying, "When people die, they shall come back to life again, even as 773
this stick rises again to the surface of the water; also old people, when they die, shall come back young again." Just then Bear came there, and, feeling angry because the people had stolen his fire, he threw a

N.Y. State Museum 125 : 33), Shushwap (Lowie, PaAM 2 : 19, 247), Yokuts (Kroeber, 171X
UCal 4 : 204, 209, 218, 229; Powers, CNAE 3 : 383; Potts, JAFL 5 : 73). Yuchi (Gatschet, AA [1893], 279, 280; Speck, UPenn 1 : 103). The author did not find this incident among the Tahltan, although he inquired for it. See also P. J. de Smet, Letters and Sketches (Philadelphia, 1843), p. 40, probably Cree; N. Perrot, Memoir on the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Savages of North America (in E. H. Blair, The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1 : 35), probably Ottawa.

Mr. Robert T. Aitken has kindly given me the following additional references: Iroquois (David Cusick, Ancient History of the Six Nations, p. 1), Montagnais (?) (LeJeune, Jesuit Relations 5 : 155, recapitulation 6 : 157).

[1] Compare Bellacoola (Boas, Sagen 243), Carrier (Morice, TCI 5 : 10), Comox (Boas, Sagen 95), Lillooet (Teit, JAFL 25 : 342), Makah (?) (Swan, Indians of Cape Flattery, 57), Squamish (Boas, Sagen 57), Thompson (Teit, MAFLS 6 : 20, 44; JE 8 : 333), Tsetsa'ut (Boas, JAFL 9 : 262), Tsimshian (Boas, Sagen 278, RBAE 31 : 243), Twana (Eells, Am. Antiquarian 2 : 70 [Clallam, Lummi, Puyallup]).

[8] See Tsetsa'ut (Boas, JAFL 9 : 262); RBAE 39 : 299, 301; Teit (MAFLS 11 : 2).

[9] See RBAE 39 : 301 (note 3).

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539 something good to eat." She sat down on the pretended baby. The people asked to see her baby; but she said, "It cries when anybody looks at it." The people gave her her husband's fat to eat. She said it had a bad taste, and they told her it was perhaps a little old. She began to eat again. Some of the people went behind her, and tied the ends of her hair to the neighboring willow-bushes while the others spoke to her and entertained her. When all was ready, they began to laugh at her, and said to her, "That was your husband's fat you ate." She got angry and opened the sack she carried, in which were stones for throwing at the people. The people attacked and killed her. When they opened the bundle to look at the baby, they found only the bones of the boy she and her husband had eaten.

9. BLADDER-HEAD BOY; OR, THE MONSTER THAT ATE PEOPLE.

539 A man with his wife and baby were travelling all the time, and net-
●829 ting beaver on the lakes and streams. They came to a big lake, which they crossed, and camped on the other side. One day the woman was dragging to camp a skin toboggan with beaver-meat, carrying her baby on her back. She noticed some large animal approaching, and, being afraid to turn around, looked back between her legs. She saw that the animal was an *a.ñr'*,[1] and became very much afraid. She scattered all the meat in the snow and ran to camp. Her husband would not believe that she had seen this animal, and told her she was simply excusing herself for having given the meat to her sweetheart. She pulled up her clothes, and said, "You can see I have been with no man." He laughed, and went off to set his beaver-nets. On his return, he went to bed, and was soon sound asleep and snoring. The woman cut a trail to escape through the willow-brush near camp. She then lay down on the opposite side of the fire from her husband, with her moccasins on and her baby in her arms, ready to run. During the night she heard the animal coming, and poked her husband with a stick to awaken him; but he slept on. She then ran away, and the animal came into camp and ate her husband. Afterwards the animal followed the woman's tracks, making sounds like a person crying.

The woman reached a place on the lake where many people were camped, and warned them. The people made many holes close to-

825 [1] A very large kind of animal which roamed the country a long time ago. It corresponded somewhat to white men's pictures of elephants. It was of huge size, in build like an elephant, had tusks, and was hairy. These animals were seen not so very long ago, it is said, generally singly; but none have been seen now for several generations. Indians come across their bones occasionally. The narrator said that he and some others, a few years ago, came on a shoulder-blade which they at first thought was a peculiarly shaped rock, sticking out of the ground. This was on the top of a mountain near the Hyland River. The shoulder-blade was as wide as a table (about three feet), and was covered with about seven inches of moss.

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gether in the ice of the lake, so that the animal, in approaching, would break through and drown. When it came to this place, the ice broke with its weight; but the animal walked along the bottom of the lake, broke the ice ahead of him, and came out to where the people were. The woman with the baby ran away. The other people were so scared that they could not run. They fell down quite helpless, and some of them were as if asleep. 539 829

In the camp was a boy who was ill treated by everybody. Even the old women stepped over him, and treated him as if he were a dog. He looked as though he had no hair, because he wore a moose-bladder over his head. Only his grandmother knew that he was like a shaman. He had magic trousers and magic arrows. Now, his grandmother nudged him, and said, "See what is coming!" He said to her, "Get my trousers and arrows." He donned his trousers and seized his bow and arrows. He jumped, and shook his head. The bladder burst, and his hair fell down over him. He shot an arrow right through the animal. Then he jumped to the other side and shot an arrow back through it again. Thus he shot until he killed the animal. The people were very thankful, and gave him two girls to be his wives, but he accepted only one of them. They made him their chief. *This is why since then people have had chiefs.* The woman who ran away came back again.

30. THE KASKA MAN WHO MADE WHALES.[1]

A Kaska man was married to a Tlingit woman, and lived near the ocean. His sister lived in the same village, and was married to the brother of his wife. Beyond, out in the ocean, was an island of ice just like a glacier, and no one had ever been able to climb it. The people were hunting seals near there in a large canoe. They said, "The Kaska are good climbers; they are an island people. We should like to see our son-in-law try to climb up on the island." The Kaska man said he would try. He put on his snowshoes and snow-shoe-spurs, took his walking-stick with spiked end, and landed. He did not have much difficulty in climbing the ice, and soon reached the top. The Tlingit were jealous, and shouted loudly; then they turned the canoe and paddled away. A boy on board, who was his brother-in-law, was sorry, and paddled the opposite way to the other paddlers, for he did not want to desert him. 539

The Kaska man felt very sad when he saw that he was deserted, and finally lay down on the ice and fell asleep. It seemed as if he dreamed,

[1] See RRAE pp 4-6 (Dahlie, Kitsun Inlet, Tlingit, Tahltanian). Also inquire to the Tahltans. 171*

For the incident of the Indelible mark see RRAE pp 4-6 (Dahlielle, Kitkatla, Cassiar, Gens, Hubbs, Kwakiutl, Lower Fraser River, Mun, Nanaimo, Nootka, Tlingit, Tahltanian).

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539 meet him." Rabbit persisted in the truth of his statement, and at last she went. He killed her at the same spot where he had killed her husband.

Rabbit now returned to his brothers, and took them to the place where he had cached the meat. There they camped, and cooked and ate much. Now, Bear-Man had many friends, and they came to take revenge. Rabbit gave each of his brothers a feather. He told them, if they were attacked, never to move or to say anything, but just to watch his eyes. He said, "While I sit, you sit; and when I get up, you get up." The Bear people came and attacked the camp. Rabbit got up; his brothers did the same, and all changed into feathers.[1] They blew away on the wind, and came down a long ways off, where they changed back to their natural forms and camped. Rabbit hunted and killed many moose, so they had plenty to eat. He said to his brothers, "Live here until I return. I am going to kill our enemies."

Rabbit arrived at the camp of an old Bear-Man, who was sharpening sticks.[2] He said to him, "Why are you making these sharp sticks?" and Bear answered, "To kill Rabbit-Man." (Bear did not recognize Rabbit, for he had changed his appearance.) Rabbit asked old Bear-Man how he used the sticks, and the latter showed him. Rabbit took up the stick, and, pointing it at Bear's head, said, "Oh, this way!" and then pierced him with it, killing him.

539 829 Rabbit went on to a camp of many people near a lake.[3] Changing himself into a young rabbit, he sat down near the hole in the ice where the people got water. Some women carrying water saw him and caught him. They took him to camp and showed him to the other people, who thought it strange that there should be a young rabbit in the middle of winter. They all examined him, passing him from hand to hand. Wolverene was the last one to examine him. After looking at him very closely, he said, "Perhaps this is Rabbit-Man," and threw him into the fire. Rabbit jumped out of the fire, and ran away as if lame. The people followed him, trying to catch him. He ran out in the middle of the lake, chased by the people. He made a gale of wind come and blow all the snow off the ice, which became so smooth and slippery that the people could not stand up. He then took a stick and killed one after another.

Wolverene had not followed him. He thought himself smart, and sat in the camp smiling to himself. Rabbit entered, and, striking him across the arms and legs, broke them. He put his body on a spit and set it up before the fire to bake. He then gathered all the children together, chicked up the brush lodge, and set fire to it. When all were

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[1] See Chilcotin (Farrand, JE 2 : 24, 25). Thompson (Teit, MAFLS 2 : 24, 25; JE 2 : 404). — J. T.

[2] See Lillooet (Teit, JAFL 25 : 295). Thompson (JE 2 : 308, 309). — J. T.

[3] Also known in the Tahltan ("Raven and Qemish'an"). — J. T.

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burned up, he went home. *This is how wars started among the Indians.* At one time war was unknown. Rabbit introduced war, and the Indians imitated him. Since then there has been war among tribes and families. Had Rabbit not introduced war, people would know nothing of war now.

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22. WOLVERENE.[1]

Wolverene had two wives and several children. His wives' mother, and two brothers of his wives who were yet boys, lived with them. He always caught many beavers, and gave plenty of meat to his mother-in-law and brothers-in-law as well as to his own family. He was very quick at setting beaver-nets, for he used his penis as an ice-chisel. The boys tried to find out how he managed to set the nets so quickly, but he always managed to conceal himself when making holes in the ice. One day, however, they happened to see him, and made remarks about the shape of his ice-chisel. One of his own sons told him of these remarks. He became angry, and said he would starve them. After that he fed his own wives and children, as usual, but gave nothing to his mother-in-law and brothers-in-law. He allowed them a fire, however, but he gave orders to his wives not to give them any food.

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When Wolverene's daughter saw that her grandmother was starving, she went to her mother, saying she was very hungry, and asked her for some beaver-meat. Pretending to eat the meat, she passed it down her dress, and carried it to her grandmother and the boys. The latter now began to hunt, for they were very hungry. One day they chased a moose by the place where Wolverene was working beaver on the ice. They asked him if the moose was far ahead; and he answered, "Just a little ways." The lads chased the moose a very long way before they caught up with it and killed it. They brought back some meat and fat to their camp. That night they broke some bones to extract the marrow, and Wolverene heard them. He called out, "Oh, you have some meat! You are eating marrow-bones." The old woman was angry, and answered back, "No, you are mistaken. We are breaking old bones. Where should we get meat? We are starving."

That night, when Wolverene was asleep, the old woman and boys shifted camp to where the moose was. Next morning Wolverene noticed that there was no fire at their camp, and sent one of his sons over to find out the reason. He came back and told his father that there were no people there. Wolverene knew now that the lads had killed the moose. He made up his mind to follow them, and told his wives to go ahead. He would stay behind and finish catching beavers, and then overtake them. He killed a number of beavers, and, taking one of them on his back, he set out. Before long he passed his wife, who was pregnant, and therefore walking very slowly.

[1] Also known in the Tahltan ("Wolverene and the Brothers").

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